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Old English Loyalty & Policy

Agreeable to
PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.

The First P A R T.

By the Author of *The Beginning and Progress of a
Needfull and Hopefull Reformation.*

Jer. xlviij. 10.

*Cursed be he that dasheth the Work of the Lord decisively,
or negligently.*

Petris Patriæ Pigrities.

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To Their Excellent Majesties

King WILLIAM & Queen MARY.

May it please Your Majesties,

I presume I may say without Vanity, that no Man hath more heartily desir'd, so none hath more constantly and unmoveably endeavour'd, in the way which I take to be most direct and certain, to promote the Honour and Prosperity of Your Majesties, than my self. And though to the generality of the Men of this degenerate Age I may seem to have treated you with less Respect than I ought; yet to Your own Royal Judgments, enlarged with a Noble sense of Piety, Virtue and Generosity, I cannot doubt but the following Pages will demonstrate the contrary: and that I have treated you with greater Honour, than their narrow Sentiments could imagine. It is true, I had a principal Respect to the Honor of that Transcendent Majesty, to which all Creatures ought always to be ready to sacrifice their little Sparks of Honour, and their Lives and Beings. And to make the poor degenerate Mortals of this Age in some sort sensible of their Stupidity and great Insensibility of the Honour due to that Glorious Majesty, I know not any thing that could have a more direct Tendency and Efficacy, than with great Fidelity to intermix such Freedom as might excite some sense and concern for the Honour due to a much inferior Majesty, of a Mortal. And from this Principle may be deduc'd an unanswerable Conviction of a double Fault in most of those who shall censure me for it: 1. Of want of due and proportionable Concern for the Honour of that Supreme Majesty upon just and great occasion. 2. Of want of due Concern at the Dishonour done to Your Majesties, not in Words, but in treacherous and unworthy Actions. He
who

who can acquit himself of the due discharge of his Duty in those respects, may be allow'd to cast the first Stone of Censure at me.

Your Majesties have done your selves no little Honour in reflecting what I have done, not as some mean Souls expected, and perhaps desired; but so as hath confirmed the Honourable Opinion, which I and many others had of your Virtues. And as I much rejoice to see it, so it is matter of great pity and grief to me to see so much Virtue and so noble Undertakings so encumber'd and pestil'd with so much Sordidness, Baseness and Unfaithfulness, as I cannot but observe in some, who should be, were they like their Ancestors, the Honour and Glory of the Nation. But I hope Your Virtues, by the Favour and Blessing of Almighty God, will speedily subdue all that Wickedness and Unfaithfulness to God and to Your Services, which you must first encounter with at home, and then all Your Enemies abroad, and at last obtain an Eternal Victory. Which is the hearty Desire and daily Prayer of,

Your Majesties

Humble and most faithfull Subject.

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THE great Opposition which hath always been made by the *Kingdom of Darkness* against the *Kingdom of Light*, and by the *Seed of the Serpent* against the *Seed of the Woman*, may easily be perceived by any who carefully read the Sacred Scriptures, or will consider the Actions of Men upon Earth, from the beginning. In this opposition there is nothing more admirable and amazing, than to see such as may charitably be believed to belong to the Kingdom of Light, notwithstanding in many things so greatly abused as to become subservient to the Designs of the Kingdom of Darkness. Yet that so it often is, may be plainly observed : and as plainly, that it always proceeds from some relicks of *Carnal Affections*, or of *Impressions of the World* too easily admitted, in which the Powers of Darkness preside, and often prevail under some Appearance or other ; most commonly of Zeal for the Truth, or for the Church ; of Prudence, of Provision for Families, and the like. And few there are who can say, *The Prince of this World cometh, and hast nothing in me*; Jo. 14. 30. few to whom

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whom it may not be said, *How can ye believe, who receive Honour one of another, and seek not the Honour that cometh from God only?* (Jo. 5. 44.) few that regard those important Admonitions. How hard is it for a Rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, or the genuine state of Christianity : and few who take half so much pains to purifie their Souls by Mortification of Carnal and Worldly Affections, as they do to feed and gratifie those Affections.

The *Heroick Virtues* of the ancient Christians we reject as Popery, and leave to the Cells, or neglect as peculiar to times of Persecution. Which we may again pull down upon our selves, if we make it more necessary for us, than our selves fit for enjoyment of such a deliverance as we formally profess to acknowledge. These Affections we indulge not only in our liberal use of Necessaries, but even in Superfluities ; in the Pomps and Vanities of the World, and in insatiable pursuit thereof, even often by indirect means, though most solemnly renounced at our Baptism ; and corrupt the Sense, and the most express Doctrine of the Sacred Scripture, that we may do it with the more freedom. Nor are these the faults of the grossly vicious and profane only, but such as it is rare to find any of the best so free from, but the Prince of this World may find something to take hold on, and make them too often subservient to his Interest.

Though *Pride* was the occasion of the Fall of Angels, and is the very Diabolism (if I may so say) of the Devils, who being in truth dependent Beings, would set up for independent Deities, and be worshipped and adored and served by their fellow Creatures (which was so well understood and considered by the ancient Christians, that they reputed *Humility* one of the first, most necessary fundamental Virtues, and declined all worldly Honour, and Applause of Men as carefully and circumspectly as we see it now studiously and earnestly pursued,) yet is there nothing more common among us than to see People, otherwise sober, of good parts,

parts, and sincerely religious, yet so infatuated with Vanity, Ostentation, Formality and Affectation or Conceitedness, as even to render themselves ridiculous and pitied by those of whom they seek Applause, or to be admired ; and so miserably enchanted and enslaved by this Devil, that neither their own Experience, nor the Admonition of faithful Friends can reclaim them : But they carry their own Rod at their Backs, and that as certain and smart as one would wish. In others, who have escaped the grottoes of this Folly, yes is it often manifest by their Concern for the Honor of very Trifles ; as some Criticism, or new Discovery or Invention, or other Achievement ; and many times, when in truth it is not due to them, but perhaps to some other more worthy Person, who did little regard it. This also I have sometimes had occasion to pity, and to wish that such dead Flies did not spoil a good Ointment. There are others who have neither much of the Vanity of the first, nor the Industry to give them any occasion for the last, in whom notwithstanding the same root may be discovered, if they be but touched with some punctilio of Honor, or wherein they suppose their Reputation concerned ; or but affronted with some honest, plain, friendly and free Admonition or Advice. This will certainly draw out the very same Vanity, which only lay a little deeper concealed ; for it shall be resented to the los not only of the Esteem of others, but of the good Offices of the most faithful and cordial Friends, which they willfully deprive themselves of, by a greater Folly than the former. These are not only such dead Flies as corrupt the Savour of their Civil Conversation ; but such living Flies as corrupt the very Essence of their best Actions, and diminish their Treasure of Eternal Reward ; and besides, expose such as are not very watchfull against them to become subservient in divers respects to the Designs of that Kingdom of Darkness. While they have so lively a Sense of Honor either paid or neglected, in respect of themselves, or of other mortal men, which may be their own ease, the

impressions of that are apt to divert the mind from the due apprehensions and regard of the far greater Honor to be given to God, when both do concur in the same case, and the circumstances of the latter are not so plain and obvious as those of the former. And whereas in some such cases there may be just cause a little to neglect the former, out of respect to the latter: yet cannot that be done without some Censure and Indignation proceeding from a secret bias in such Minds (though otherwise well affected to Religion) which may easily be heightened to a direct Opposition of very good Works under an appearance of Prudence, Discretion and Duty. And nothing is more common than for men in such cases to quarrel at the Manner, when they have nothing to say against the Matter. This is a subject which well deserves to be more largely treated, but this is sufficient to be here briefly noted for my present occasion. And therefore I will onely admonish such persons to reflect upon themselves whenever they are concerned for the Honour of Men, and consider well, whether their concern for the Honour of God be proportionable.

Nor is it onely from the Heroick Virtue of the Ancient Christians that we are so degenerated, but even from *the natural Genius of the English Nation*. The one we have rejected as Popery and Superstition; and the other as Moroseness and Rusticity: And while we affected a more refined Courtship of the French, had almost in effect courted our selves into a *French Slavery*. Nay, so base and inconsiderate hath been the Flattery of some men for their own Advantage, that it hath not onely corrupted our Court, and endanger'd our Civil Constitution, but even profaned our Churches and Sacred Offices, and brought great difficulties upon our Clergy, but greatest of all upon our Princes. It is true, it hath been the Unhappiness of the Princes themselves to be so ill advised as to give encouragement to such People, who are always most forward to obtrude themselves, and so to raise up such an *Evil Genius*: But raised ic hath been, and hath so far prevail-

prevailed, that any thing of the honest, plain, downright old English Genius and Loyalty, which presers the Honor and Safety of the King and Kingdom before Favour and Preferments, or any private Respects, cannot but appear like an uncouth thing, and little less than Madness to our refined Frenchified Courtiers. But, *Naturam expellas furca licet usque recurrit*: And though the true English Genius hath withdrawn it self a while, it will appear again with so much the greater vigor in due time. And that time, I doubt not, is now come, or near at hand. For God himself, who always favours Sincerity and downright Honesty, though he many times permits Evil men to expose themselves and the Wickedness of their own Genius, that others beholding the same may so much the more abhor it, hath now raised us up a King according to our own temper; and though he hath hitherto permitted him to feel the Evil Consequences of such mens Prudentials, will I hope henceforward make him sensible thereof, and direct him to and by better Counsels.

But at present whoever shall be so hardy as to offer him his Service in such a case as this, in honest and plain terms, must expect no mean Opposition, Censures from all, and Calumnies, if no worse, from these last prescribed. Wherefore since I am Debtor not onely to the Wise, but to the Unwise also, whose Good and Reformation, not hurt in the least, I heartily desire, I think fit for their better Information, and to prevent mistake, and remove their unjust Prejudice, to give some farther *Account of myself and my Endeavours hitherto in this matter*. And then I shall add with the same Integrity and Plainness what I think farther necessary to be said for the Service of the King and my Country; and with the same Freedom I would use if I was now to bid farewell to the World.

I have lived now near threescore years in the World, and, before this King came to the Crown, have seen, besides the troublesome part of a former Reign, and twelve years *Interregnum*, two Reigns full of great Miscarriages, of horrid Impiety

piety against God, and the highest Violations of Justice to Man, tending to the Destruction of a Noble Constitution, and the Enslaving of my Country : And I have been from my Youth a great Lover of my Country, and an industrious Student of the Good of Mankind, even to the neglect and detriment of my private Concerns : yet did I never attempt any such Service to either of those Kings, as, since the late happy Revolution, I have done to this. And this may serve to satisfie such as know me not, that it is not any Humour, but some special Cause and Consideration, which hath moved me to what I have done of late. Again, I soon had a great Family, and but a small Estate, and have met with great Disappointments by persons I have dealt with ; yet did I never count any Preferment, though I have been much in Town, and have had such friends as wanted neither good Will nor Opportunity to have given me Assistance. But I have always abstained even from those common Courtships, which are in use with many in my circumstances, and their principal Means to get into business : I have abstained not onely from Dishonesty, but such common ways of Gain, as I thought sordid and more unworthy than meaner Employments or a Mean Condition. And I often remembered, *The Earth is the Lord's, and the Fullness thereof*, desiring to approve my self to Him, and leave my Portion of those things to his Assignment. By these means my Reputation hath been fair, though my Estate but small, and I have lived in good Esteem, with the best people, and persons of good quality. And this may serve to satisfie the same persons, that it is not any private Concern that hath been my Motive in these things.

But the plain truth in both these Cases is this : That I did not express my Fidelity to the two last Princes in this manner, it was because I saw them not capable of it : And when I have sometimes had it in my thoughts, I have found a great secret Restraints upon my Mind, as I have since, in what I have done, found Freedom and Excitement. That I have since expressed

expressed my self in this manner to their present Majesties, it was, next to the Service of the Supreme Majesty, first, my great Concern for them, and for their Prosperity, and for the Success of a most noble Cause not a little concerned therein : and next, an honourable Opinion of their Virtue, that they had both Wisdom to discern, at least, the Honesty and integrity of my Intentions ; and Piety to take well so well-meant Admonitions in a case of so great Importance, without Indignation for a little plain bluntness in the manner of it. And I was well satisfied of the Truth and Importance of it ; which appeared such to me, as made me have the less regard to any thing else.

I looked upon the King as an Instrument raised up by the special Providence of God for great matters in this Age : But I also considered that such are usually lead to special Tryals, wherein, if they be not very circumspect and resolute, they are sometimes laid aside, but always involve themselves in greater Difficulties. This I understood not only by study, but by my own Experience also. And I farther considered, how little these things are in this Age regarded in Princes Courts, or understood even by those whose Profession doth oblige them to be better acquainted with them : and what danger might hence arise to the King, if he should acquiesce in such mistaken Counsels. Few Men hath more sincerely and heartily desired the Prosperity of their Majesties : But none, I doubt, have been so apprehensive of his Danger in this respect, none so early, I verily believe. This made my Heart ake for him, when he had not been long amongst us, which at last broke out in that plain Admonition which I first put into his hands at Hampton-Court, not long after his Access to the Throne. This, when Observation of the Event had not a little confirmed my former Opinion, provoked my Reflections upon the first years Occurrences : and upon such farther Observation the next year, the Reflections upon the Engagement at Sea. And this year again, very much fearing some considerable Dis-

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appointment at least, (if not something worse, which the Goodness and Long-suffering of God hath at present restrained.) I proposed the Case in certain *Querions to the Divines of the Church of England*, (which I had before proposed to some others, but in writing only) that I might provoke, if possible, a due Consideration of the matter, and of the proper Means to prevent the Mischiefs I feared. And with this I thought I had done, and did not intend to write more upon this subject. Yet was I again engaged in it beyond my intention, in a manner not unworthy to be noted.

The Matter I had so earnestly contended for was the *Reformation* of the Manners of my Country, exceedingly depraved in the late Reigns, and the *Prosperity of his Majesty*, which I was confident depended very much upon his faithful Exercise of his Royal Authority for that purpose. Which had he accordingly performed, and not yielded to pernicious Counsels, which betrayed him, might have been the Glory of his Reign, and the Foundation of an uninterrupted Prosperity and Success. But from this he was unhappily diverted by such as were most obliged to have advis'd and persuaded him better. Nor could any Publick Authority, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, be prevail'd with to take this Matter, though so necessary, and of so great importance, into consideration, so as to do any thing to purpose in it. No Man regarding that severe Denunciation, *Cursed is he that dash the Work of the Lord negligently*; Jer. 48. 10. When all those Powers declined the Service, it pleased God that a few private Gentlemen should readily embrace it; and her Majesty, upon the first Motion, most readily heartily and happily, giving Encouragement to it, it presently had a very hopeful beginning in *Middlesex* and *London*: and the Example thereof was by the Industry and Charge of those few private Gentlemen soon after recommended to all parts of the Nation, with very good Success in divers places.

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This hopeful beginning the Devil in Man could not endure, but first exciting some to discourage it in private; when he found that would not do, but others stepp'd in to help it on, he presently called a Council against it. And when they could find no just Matter of Accusation, in great straits they resolved to lay hold on the first most probable ground they could meet with; and though a meer Calumny, dress it up as well as they could, and with all their Power and Authority stifle this honest Undertaking under Colour of Justice. And that the Example of this might the more effectually enervate the Power of the other, this must be done in the very same place, and at the next General-Quarter-Sessions.

I had been more concerned for such Matters, than to be unconcerned at, or insensible of such an *Effort* of the Enemy against this so honest and hopeful a Beginning; and I was not unacquainted with his Wiles: Besides, though neither my Hand nor my Purse was employed in those worthy and commendable Actions, yet had I perfect Knowledge of all from the beginning: And therefore having been very plain with their Betters, for promoting of so good and necessary a Cause, I could not let so Foul, so Injustice-like, nay so Ungentle-man-like an Opposition, by some unworthy Persons, who apparently wanted either Law or Integrity to qualifie them for such an Employment, pass without some Animadversion; which I thought the most speedy way, to check the Effects of their Venom, the Poison of the Serpent, before it had transfused it self over the whole Body of the Nation.

This was no sooner printed, and communicated to some Friends in private before Publication, but I soon perceived another *Effort*, to stifle it in the Birth; not by the Violence or Projects of real Enemies, but by means of the Errors and Mistakes of deceived, well-meaning Friends. *Her Majesty's Letter* had so great a share in these things, that it could not be passed by in Silence, without Ingratitude to her Piety,

and Injury to the Relation. Nor could it be mentioned without taking notice of that *special Favour of God*, which so closely and remarkably attend it, unless I should have neglected the most sacred and necessary part of History : Nor could that be noted without as remarkable an Observation upon *Success of His Majesty's Affairs* now again this third Summer ; but I must have committed the same Fault in this Particular also, and been unfaithful to the great and important Cause in which I was engaged. And the concurrence of these two Observables this Year, and their Agreement with what I had again and again observed before, and the Importance thereof to His Majesty for the future, provoked me to represent those few necessary things unto him with that Freedom and Plainness, which divers Circumstances required, and was most like to excite his most serious Consideration of them. Which was as great an Act of Fidelity and Good Will to him, I think, as a mortal Man could well express. And yet for these and these only, which come so close to the point of the great business of all, have I been encountered with no small opposition to the Publication by very good Friends, and Persons otherwise very well affected to the Work in hand ; not only by friendly Admonitions and gentle Persuasions, but little less than Denunciation of no small Disappointment by a Divine Power. These things I took as they were intended, in a friendly manner, and again and again perused what I had written ; but the more I considered, the more was I confirmed and satisfied in what I had done : And perceiving the Temptation, and how it entered upon them, and so assaulted me, without more of doe I ordered the Publication, leaving the Success to him, whose Work it is ; but thought fit, for the satisfaction of such good People, to recommend some few things to further Consideration.

And the first is, How apt an *Overvaluation of Ceremonies, and of the Pomp and Vanities of the World, and of Honours and Respect to Men* (which is one of the *Corruptions of this Age,*

Age, and a great Degeneracy from the Manly Primitive Christianity) is to dazzle our Eyes, and make us less regardful of that Honour and Respect we owe to the Supreme Majesty of God : And what Advantage the Enemy thereby gains to impose upon us to the neglect of so great a Duty, for which we ought to be very jealous upon all Occasions : For those are plainly his Engines, wherewith he assaulted even our Saviour himself. And in this Case the Question was concerning the Honour of God and the Honour of the King : Whether I should give to God the Honour of his remarkable Providence, and for the King's real Benefit ; or neglect that to save the Honour of the King, though in so doing I should be unfaithful to God, to the King, and to my own Soul ? This was plainly the Case. And suppose I have not Certainty on my side ; yet where there is so vast a Difference, as between the immortal God and a mortal, and besides sinful Man, so fair a Probability, I am certain ought to determine the Question.

The next may be, How apt such an Over-valuation is to dazzle the Eyes, and make even good Men less regardful of more substantial and necessary Duties even to Men, and to give the Enemy the like Advantage to impose upon them in such Case also. For here the Question is between a little point of Honour to be saved, but with danger of greater Mischief, and the Safety of the Person and Success of his Affairs, to be secured by a reasonable Humiliation and Self-abasement, out of a just Respect to a far greater Majesty. And here again though I have not Certainty ; yet the Difference is so great, and the Probability so great, that I may be certain it ought to determine it on my side.

A third may be this, How unsafe it is for Princes to relies altogether upon such fine Gentlemen, and cautious, complaisant, respectful Courtiers, without some of deeper Consideration, and more faithful Resolution for their Service about them. They May serve to treat Strangers, but certainly they had need of other kind of Courtiers near their own Persons, and in their Councils.

I might here observe how great Mischief this unobserved and indulged Corruption doth to the Persons themselves in whom it prevails, and what Advantages it affords their Enemy against them ; how his Engines and Machinations are thereby strength'ned and made more effectual ; and so shew the Reasons of the ancient Christians Abhorrence of it : But that I suppose not so proper for this place. Yet to shew what great Mischief is thereby done to the Nation, the Good of which is the King's great Business and proper Duty, I conceive it not beside my Scope , but well worth the Consideration of his Majesty and the Parliament ; of which more hereafter in proper place.

And these Considerations, without more saying, I conceive may satisfie all who have any serious Sense of the Honour of God, and of the real Service of his Majesty, for my inserting that Observation. As for such *Expressions* as may be *thought too plain and indecent* to be used to a Prince : If a Man perceiving, or strongly apprehending his Prince to be in any great Danger, use such Means for his Preservation, as he thinks necessary for that Exigence, though otherwise rude and indecent ; yet in such Case, no wise Man would censure it as Rudeness or Indecency, but approve it as sincere Fidelity. But I say plainly that he was not only in Danger , but actually damnified already , and in further Danger in the ways wherein he hath been misled ; and a softer Voice, at such distance as I stand, was not like to be so taken notice of, as was necessary for him to perceive the Mistake.

Besides, if well considered, it doth notavour of Insolence or Indiscretion, as may seem to vulgar Apprehensions, but of Honour ; being a plain Argument of an Honourable Opinion of his Virtue : Of his Generosity, to take well so much Old English, Plain Dealing, being mix'd with so much manifest Fidelity and Affection : And of his Prudence and Discretion, to apprehend it aright. Whereas to a Person of less Generosity and Prudence, it had indeed been great Indiscretion

descretion to have used it. But this is not all ; there is a greater Honour yet done him in this Treatment, by an Honourable Opinion of greater Virtue than all this residing in him ; and of a more Honourable Estate to which he is raised, than barely that of a King : That is, of his serious Apprehension of the Excellence of that Majesty, whose special Service is the greatest Honour that any Creature is capable of ; and that he hath been raised and conducted to such a special Service. Other Treatment had been below the Excellency of that Majesty whose Cause it is, and inconsistent with that Fidelity which ought to be performed to such a special Instrument of his, and not well becoming a faithful Servant of both. Had I been concerned in a Cause for my Prince, wherein the greatest Person in the Nation was questioned for some Offence or Default, I might and ought to have used all Freedom and Plainness necessary to have convinced him of his Fault ; nor had I well consulted the Honour of my Prince if I had done otherwise : Much more is this allowable, and a Duty, in the Case of the Supreme Majesty, though a King be concerned in it ; and doubly so, when it is for his Safety and Advantage. Besides it gives the King a Noble Opportunity, both to exercise and to demonstrate his Virtue, and to give Glory to God, by accepting of a faithful Admonition from the meanest of his Subjects, with all due Respect to the Supreme Majesty.

After all this, if any be yet so enchanted with Vanity, as not to be satisfied, and yet believe a Deity, that *Reges in ipsis Imperium est Jovis*, (to speak to Infidels in the Language of Heathens.) For the Conviction of such, I will here only say again, in relation to that Paper, what I had before said in the conclusion of another.

Possibly, in the perusal of that Paper, some, who are most attentive to the Importance of the Matter, may over-look other things, and think it very good and honest : But these must be Men who have some relish of such things. But others, who

who are not much affected with that, will be apt the more to regard the Form, and censure it for rude and insolent ; and that I am well pleased they should do, and as severely as they will, For I know no better way to convince them of a Fault of their own, than to make them judge themselves in the Person of another. For if I be rude by plain-dealing with my Fellow-Creatures for their Good, who are perhaps, but a little above me in some petty, accidental, transitory Advantage, what are they who are not only more rude toward the State, but impious against their Creator, or can behold such Rudeness and Impiety without any Censure, or Endeavour to restrain it ? Must I be censured for breaking the Laws of Man, or but of Civility, and out of a good Design ? And is it equal then that others shall be permitt'd in impudent Contempt of the Religion of the State, and impious violation of the Laws of Almighty God ? Therefore thou art inexcusable, O Man, whosoever thou art that judgest ; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self. And thinkest thou, O Man that judgest, — and dost the same, that thou shalt escape the Judgments of God ?

And thus much for my *Old English Loyalty*, which none, who understand both, can deny to be very agreeable to the genuine Primitive Christianity. I come now to my *Old English Policy*. A brave People they were, who seated themselves here, and they Found a Climate very agreeable to their own *Genius*. Two Assaults they have reciev'd in their own Territories from their Neighbours of *Normandy* and *France*; the first with their Arms, the last with their Vices and Treachery : Both prevailed upon degenerate and imprudent Princes, and by that Means a little shog'd the People; but they after the first soon return'd again to their own Genius ; and so I doubt not will again now, though the Powers of Vice be more enslaving than that of Arms. But the Divine Power, which nothing can withstand, hath so far favour'd us, as to raise us up a Prince according to our own *Genius*. Only he hath been at first exposed to the Assaults of the Adverse

verse Powers, reigning in the dregs of the Corruptions of the late Reigns. And though he hath suffered much thereby, and perhaps lost those Advantages he can never regain; yet hath he been preserved, and gain'd, though at a dear rate, that Experience thereby, which if well considered and improved, may be of as great Advantage to him another way. Nor will a Divine Power yet be wanting to assist him, if he be not wanting to it and to himself. I was at first brought to him by little less than a Miracle, when the Week before I could hardly endure a Two Miles Journey in a Coach, or to make a hasty step a-cross a Chanel; yet the next Week was carried on with that Vigour and Spirit, that I rode every day considerable Journeys for a whole Week together. I then performed that little Service, in which I was intrusted, with all Fidelity and good Success, only a Torrent of greater unexpected Success made it needless. And I gave a true and impartial Account of all to one near him, which I believe was never truly represented to him. And now I am resolved by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, to perform such a Service, and make things so plain, as shall have a good Effect, or leave all that shall oppose or neglect it, inexcusable even in the sight of Men, if there be any true Manhood left in the Nation; If there be such a thing as a secret Divine Designation of Men to certain Employments in this Life, as is believed by wise and knowing Men; certain I am that there is nothing in my Life, that hath so much, or any such Evidence of it as this hath. And therefore I shall endeavour to keep back nothing that may be profitable to be observed; but declare all that I think necessary without regard to any Person or Thing, but the Service of God, the King, and my Countrey; for which no good Man can be offended with me: And for the Malice of Evil Men, the Protection of them for whose Service I act, is sufficient for me; and I have Reason to expect it.

The greatest *Emperor* in the World, in his own Nature, is a poor weak Mortal as other Men are, and subject to the like

like Infirmities.) All his Power which he hath more than others, consists in the joint, voluntary Subjection of other Men to him, who are all like himself, dependent Beings upon a far more excellent Being, in whose Hand is their Breath and Life, and who inspirits or dispirits, and turns their Hearts as he pleaseth. He who believes this indeed will easily perceive that his principal Concern and Wisdom, is to secure first the Favour of that Supreme Being, and next the Good Will and Affections of all those, who being naturally his Equals, may thereby become subject to him, and so continue.

The former cannot be expected; but by an entire Conformity and absolute Subjection of the Will, Designs, and Actions, to the Will of that Supreme Being. If therefore King *William* believes this, and that he is indeed an Instrument raised up by that Excellent Majesty for his Special Service, and by his Providence exalted to the Throne for that purpose: This he must intend and prefer above all things, or else he must act like a Brute, which follows its sensual or animal Propensions; or like a Fool or a Madman; not like a rational Creature, upon good Deliberation and Judgment.

But first he must endeavour to know, and be well acquainted with his Master, and with his Will, and to understand it by the least Intimation; be precisely observant of it, to follow it fully; and very watchful against any the least Transgression; knowing assuredly that it will certainly turn to Ten times a greater Disadvantage to him, than the Advantage he expected by it. And he must study to know himself well; that he is a dependent Creature; hath no Power of himself; is so easily overpowered by other Creatures, that he hath not the Command of his own Faculties or Thoughts for a moment, without the Favour of his Master upon whom he depends; and therefore be very careful to walk humbly before him, that his Heart be not at any time lifted up above himself, or above his Fellow-Creatures, unless

unless in the Case of his great Master; but in his Cause he must be as cautious not to fail of the greatest Generosity and Magnanimity possible, without Fear of Men or Devils. And these things he must endeavour to know, not by a superficial, speculative Knowldg, but by so effectual a Practical Knowledge as may equal an Experimental, lest he be sent to the common Mistrels to learn it better, as I have been for a more effectual Knowledge of what I studied and desired to have acquired at a cheaper rate. But now I know indeed from whence my Strength cometh, and how little I am able to do even at home, if destitute of that Aid.

These things being well known, it is farther to be consider'd; that the Service of God, in relation to the present busines, is two-fold; the principal the Good of his Creatures; but by accident (it may be) the destruction of some. And for these he hath his different proper Instruments: For the latter ordinarily Devils and Wicked Men; but his Glorious Instruments are principally employed for the Good of Men, their Real Good, whereby they are made better. And this is the proper Service and Business of a King. And in this is his Fidelity, Generosity, and Virtue, principally to be exercised. If it fail or flag in this; it must needs degenerate in all the rest, and make him more like a Butcher, Executioner, or Serjeant, than a Pastor, Governor or Tutor. And if he neglect this, though he may notwithstanding be an Instrument of some Drudgery, yet a Glorious Instrument he cannot be. This therefore is the first and principal thing to be intended, and most vigorously prosecuted, and that not only as a Common Duty upon all occasions, but in this Nation, at this time, by K. William, upon very considerable *special Occasions and Obligations*. The great Corruption of the Manners of the Nation, and the Impudence of Impiety are such as make it a special Obligation, and a special Provocation to a Generous Mind, to check and subdue it. And the extraordinary Providence, which hath raised him to the Throne, for this very purpose, undoubtedly as much as for any, is another

special Obligation : And the Providential Admonitions and Corrections of his Neglect hitherto, which he hath since met with, a farther. The Judgments denounced in the Gospel against Fear, Shame, Negligence, Unprofitableness in the Cause of Christ and Work of the Lord are very severe ; and these being aggravated by such special Obligations, must needs make the Case very dangerous indeed. And here by the way it is very fit that all those, who are called to the Office of Watchmen, whether Ordinary or Extraordinary, or upon any special Occasion, should be minded of their own Danger in case of neglect of their Duty in that respect.

This great and fundamental Service is to be performed by earnest recommending the enacting of such new Laws, as are necessary for supply of those that are wanting or defective; by commanding and strictly requiring and inforsing the Execution of such as we have already ; and by notable Examples of good Discipline : Of all which I have said so much already, more than once, that I shall need to say no more here.

As the Foundation and Stability of Regal Power depends upon the Favour of God, and the Affections of the Subjects, so each doth require *continual Demonstration of Virtue* in them, who are invested with it. God who is the Searcher of Hearts, doth not notwithstanding require it, and frequently leads them to occasions of Tryal; and much more may Men, who cannot otherwise judge of the Heart, expect it. God doth require it not only in matters of Religion for his Honour, but also in matters of Justice to Men, wherein the Honour of his Supreme Authority also is concerned. And Men expect it not only in matters of Justice and Benefit to themselves, but also in matters of Religion and Honour to God. So that what I have hitherto said concerning the Means of acquiring and securing the Favour of God, hath a farther consideration also in respect of Men; which even Aristotle hath taken notice of ; whose Politicks have more of that Right Reason, which Christianity recommends, than most of the Politicks

Politicks of our Modern Statists. And that this was a principal part of our old English Policy, as is very manifest in our old Laws and Historians.

But to come to our *Civil Politicks*, It hath been observed by Wise Men, that there is a certain *Natural Disposition* in most Nations, and in many very apparent, to some certain Form of Goverment peculiar to their own *Genius*, by which they are more easily to be governed than by any other. And if the Governors act suitable to that disposition of the People, it usually makes all very happy. We have now a Prince very agreeable to the Natural *English Genius*; but he may easily be mistakes by reason of the Corruptions of the last Reigns, which as they began at the Court, so have they most infected those who most resort thither. So that I know nothing of greater importance to him, than good information and due consideration of the *Natural Genius* of the Body of this People, and how to distinguish that from the Degenerate Dispositions of those who have most access to him.

Their *Natural Genius* is Honest, Plain-dealing, yet considerate and very Provident, (as manifestly appears in our Constitution of Government and Common Law, if rightly considered,) Industrious, Courageous, Constant, and Faithful; and, which I will mention as the great commendation of all, addicted to sincere and substantial Religion; but abhorring Dishonest, despising Tricks and Craft, and disdaining Violence and Oppression; and accordingly in matters of Religion, equally abhorring Hypocrisy and Formality, and despising Superstition. This might many ways be proved, but would require a particular Tract to do it as it should be: And though it might seem otherwise to such as converse most with the most degenerate part of the Nation, yet even in them may be discerned the *Natural Principles* of these Dispositions not totally extirpated, which makes them in many things more easie to be cured. And these *Natural Dispositions* are so agreeable to uncorrupted Reason and to

Genuine Primitive Christianity, that it is not only Civil Prudence, but an indispensable Duty to God to treat such a People accordingly, and to endeavour not only the Restitution but Exaltation of this natural Temper, according to the most excellent Means of our most Holy and Admirable Religion, and no less Imprudence and indiscretion than Impiety to do otherwise.

But there are two Temptations, to which a Prince naturally Magnanimous and Prudent, may be obnoxious, which would certainly make his Government of such a People very uneasy, and therefore ought to be avoided with great Caution, and a pious and prudent Resolution. The one is an *Obstinate Wilfulness*, which often runs, and especially by opposition, into a *Gygantick Insolence*, without due regard to Reason, Justice, or Religion; that is, without due regard either to God or Man: Which is not true Magnanimity; for that is apt to exert it self on all occasions, in a generous and Free Submission to Reason, Justice, and Moderation, and rather to part with its own than usurp upon another's Right: But the other is a mere Brutish Resolution, odious both to God and Man, as inconsistent with Prudence as different from true Magnanimity, and ordinarily of most pernicious Consequence; of which *England* in this last Age hath had very remarkable Examples. And for this purpose it is absolutely necessary to beware of *Flatterers and Parasites*, and abandon them, or keep them at a great distance when they are once perceived for ever after, as most dangerous and pernicious Persons.

The other is a *Sabre Craft*, which often imposeth upon Men under the appearance of *Prudence*; but in truth is as far different from genuine Prudence, as it is inconsistent with true Generosity of Mind: This likewise is very odious both to God and Man; and however it may prevail for sometime, yet usually proves of pernicious Consequence at last; as by Experience in the last Race of our Kings is easily observable in these Nations. Nothing is more necessary to
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a good Accord between a Prince and People, and for the Prosperity of both, than *Mutual Confidence*. And nothing doth more destroy or debilitate such a mutual Confidence, than such crafty Projects and Practices; which are the more carefully to be avoided by how much the more they have been practised here, and with such unhappy Success: And no less are the Instruments thereof to be avoided and abandoned.

Both these as they are carefully to be avoided by a truly Magnanimous and Prudent Prince, upon the General Considerations aforesaid, so are they much more upon this *special Consideration* of their *Contrariety and Disagreement with the natural Genius of this People*. Such violent and unnatural Means can never produce any durable Effect of Prosperity and Happiness; but sooner or later will be disappointed, and make the Memory of those who use them odious and dishonourable with all Posterity.

And besides all this, there is a farther special Consideration of great moment, *in relation to the Prince himself*, upon their *Inconfidence with his own Declaration*, and the Gratitude (I will be bold to say it) which he oweth the People of these Nations (though I deny not in the least his Merit) for the Honour they have done him. And upon this occasion, I cannot but take notice of that late Emblem at the Hague, of a Balance with a Sword preponderating Three Crowns, and *Premia non aquant* for a Motto, as a piece of mean pedantick Flattery, below the Gravity and Prudence of such a State, and too light a Complement for real Worth and Merit.

As it is our *Happiness* to have a Prince so agreeable to our natural Genius, so its some *Unhappiness* to him to meet with so many among us so much degenerated from it. But then nothing can make him a more Glorious Instrument, than to restore us to our ancient Virtue; nor any thing give him greater Advantage for farther Honour. And this being so Fundamental a Matter, both for the Honour of the King,

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and the Good and Happiness of the Nation (besides that it is a principal End of Government) no Man, who is well affected to either, can be offended, if I consider it with that Freedom and Plainness, which a Matter of such Importance doth deserve ; But if any be, I suppose he will think it too great an Evidence against himself that he is not such, to discover it. This certainly is no more than necessary, since so subtil and powerful is the Venom of *this Corruption*, that there is danger otherwise lest it should invade even the Prince himself e'r he be aware, and hath already approach'd him with very evil Effects. It began apparently soon after the Decease of Q. Elizabeth, by her supposed wise, but in truth, weak Successor, who being a timorous Person, and (as is natural to such) addicted much to Craft (wherein he gloried, though it often failed him, and indeed fool'd him) attracted most of that Temper to him, and tainted others : And Prince Henry, who was of another Spirit, being un-happily taken off by an untimely Death, this kind of Courtiers and Politicians most easily insinuated themselves into the naturally disposed Humour of his Successor ; who, had he been directed by Persons of the right English Genius, might have been more happy. The same Spirit, though cast out for a while, returned again, and with greater Force possess'd his next Successor ; and from thence hath this sort of Policy greatly prevailed, but with such Issue as the World hath seen. Nor is it yet extinct, but offers fair to re-assume its former Place and Power : So that were not this King a Person of more Generosity and Virtue, he would certainly be carried away with the Stream of our degenerate Politicks. But besides those Virtues natural to him, he hath had Three years Experience of notorious *Disappointments*, to warn him of the Danger of their Counsels: Only having been so little resident amongst us, it cannot be expected he should presently be sensible of the secret Causes of his Disappointments, or the pernicious Effects of their Counsels; and therefore no greater Service can be done him, and by Consequence, to the

the whole Kingdom, than by laying these things as plain and naked before him as possible ; and to detect or sufficiently point out the principal Agents : For it concerns him little less to beware of this Generation and their Policies, than it did the *Israelites* to avoid the *Canaanites* and their Manners.

But first it may be fit to explain the *Nature of this Degeneracy ; and of the Humours by which it is fed and nourished.* Which are plainly a Composition of Atheism, Infidelity, Covetousnes and Ambition, with some other such kind of Ingredients, which make up that Corrupt and Diabolical Humour called *Self*, the very Sperm and Spirit of the Serpent. The Prepossessions and Motions of all things in Nature, as hath been well observed by that great Philosopher, Sir *Fra. Bacon*, are more strong and vigorous to the *Common Good*, than to the *Private Good* of *Self*. And it is apparent that no Sect, Religion, or Philosophy of Men, doth so much exalt the *Common Good* above the *Private Good* of particular Men, as the Christian : Whence, as that subtile observant Philosopher doth well infer, it plainly appears that it was the same Author, who so wisely and powerfully ordered and disposed the Course of Nature, that instituted the Christian Religion. The Primitive Christians were conformable to the Integrity of their Institution. The true *English* Spirit, retaining much of the Integrity of Nature in that respect, and kindly receiving the Christian Institution with much Simplicity and Devotion, was accordingly very Courageous and Resolute to prefer the Good and Service of its Country before all private Respects. Nay, the very Heathens in all parts of the World have left Noble Examples of the same Generous Disposition. But we have had a generation in this last Age sprung up amongst us, of such degenerate greedy Souls, as make no scruple to expose the Rights and Liberties of their Country, and the Honour and Safety of their Princes for their own insatiable Avarice and Ambition; and of such degenerate narrow Souls as will see all run into Con-

Confusion before they will expose any thing of their private Interest to hazard to prevent it.

The Principal Ingredient is some kind of *Atheism and Infidelity*, at least an unnatural and *brutish Stupidity and Insensibility* of the most Excellent Being in the World, of the admirable Excellence of the Christian Religion, and of the proper End of Man's Being and Business upon Earth. These of this humour are a kind of *Brutes*, and little better, but like to end in much worse. But besides these there are a kind of *Monsters*, who Glory in their shame, *cum ratiōne infātire*; and in truth are *Insani quod ad hoc*, though in other matters rational and ingenious; which is a common case. Their Minds are corrupted, their Wills and Affections first by some unhappy accident perverted, and that is such a Bias and Prejudice upon the Judgment that no Reason can be offered, but the Invention shall immediately be excited and employed to return an Answer, and the Judgment thereby presently distracted from all sound and impartial Deliberation. Besides many having sinn'd themselves into a State of Desperation, and being once past hope of Benefit by Religion, to endeavour to convince them is to argue against their Interest (which may often be perceived by their Heat and Concern,) as is to no more purpose than to cast Pearls before Swine. An Opinion it is unnatural, absurd, and monstrous; and as it well deserves, will e'er long become infamous. In the mean time if any out of Piety and Charity have a desire to relieve any such unhappy Creature, his application must be to that part, which was first debauched, to the Will and Affections, by raising of Hope that the Case is not desperate; make him willing to hear Reason, and consider it impartially; and to do but in this Case what a wise Man would do in any other of great Moment. But this by the by.

When Men are once fallen into this Unhappiness either through Infensibility or Prejudice, that they cease to prosecute the proper End of their Life and Being, they presently set up some Idol instead thereof; and adoring and courting that

that with the Affections proper for a more Excellent End, they become exorbitant and insatiable. And hence proceed those other Ingredients, of insatiable *Courteousness* and *Ambition*; while true Riches and true Honor are neither esteemed nor understood, but empty and vain Shadows are pursued instead of the Substance by indirect and wicked Means. The proper Means of acquiring of Wealth, are honest Industry and Frugality: And the proper Means of acquiring Honor are Honesty, Justice, and Generous Actions, for the Good and Benefit of other Men, and of ones Country. For real *Honor* is only the Approbation of a Mans Integrity, Virtue, and Generous Actions, by God, Angels and Men. *Titles* are only Ensigns of this, which if it be wanting, they are a Lye and an Imposture. Yet have they in this Age been conferred upon so many without either actual Merit or real Worth; that they are become in a great measure insignificant: Nay, so frequently for base, dishonest, and unworthy Services, that they are in danger of what hath happened to some Words, which though originally of a good Signification, have by Abuse become in time to signify the quite contrary.

And for *Riches*, how little is the true Use thereof understood by those who use such indirect Means to obtain them! They sell their Country, their Prince, and their own Souls to Purchase them; and when they have them, either prodigally spend them upon Luxury and Wickedness; or employ them to corrupt themselves with Pride and Vanity; or hoard them up to make Fools of their Posterity. And while these things are so little understood, and yet so much admired, Virtue, and the true Excellence of Man is neither regarded nor understood. We compliment insignificant Titles, Fine Cloaths, and Ront-mens: But should any of the Ancient Sages, or even Christ himself, appear amongst us in their own Apparel, they would certainly be despised, not only by the He-

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Errors, Boes, and Fops of the Town, by our Complemental Couriers, and Pharisaical Doctors, but by most of our well-bred Gentlemen, and many, who appear to others, and believe themselves to be very religious. They should be kept at a distance, and taught better Manners than to call Herod a Fox, or a Scribe or a Pharisee an Hypocrite; nay, be reputed Mad, at least be gravely censured as too hot and imprudent by such as have little better Heat in their Heart than of a Dunghill, or Light in their Head than of an *Ignis Fatuus*. Nor can it be otherwise while Mens Eyes are dazed with the Pomps and Vanities, and their Minds tinctured or infected with the false Wisdom of the World.

This is the true Nature of that Degeneracy which hath debased the Ancient Glory of this Kingdom, and of those corrupt Humors by which it is fed and nourished. *Its Age and Growth* is also easie to be proved; for which I will offer but one Consideration. Let any one compare but the Knights of Queen Elizabeth with the Peers of her Successors, and he may soon perceive what Difference there hath been of Prudence in the Princes, and of Virtue in their Subjects. Both she and her Subjects better understood the Nature of True Honor, the Difference between the Substance and the Titles, and the true Else of the latter. She had more Prudence than to debase and vilifie those Noble Ensigns by Prodigality or Abuse: And they more Sense of Virtue and Merit, which are the Essence of Honor, than to be fond of the Titles, well knowing that the Glory of Virtue is more Sincere and Illustrious without them, and that its Reward should be more like it self, Real and Substantial. Nor were Titles then so commonly covetted with such insatiable Greediness, nor prosecuted by such indirect Means, nor abused so unworthily, or sordidly hoarded up: but either very much neglected in respect of our Times, or imployed in the Service of the Publick: in so much that Sir

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Francis Wolfgangham, the famous Secretary of State, who had few equals in Merit of Virtue, had no greater Title than of a Knight, died Poor, and left little or no Estate, but a most honorable Memory behind him. Our *Nobility* then were of the Old English Stock, and it was their Glory then as in ancient Times, with a generous emulation to venture their Persons, and employ their Estates for the Service of their King and Country. And our *Commons* then, and in ancient Times, thought it matter of Duty and Fidelity, as well as their Right, to take notice of the Miscarriages even of our Kings themselves, and to inform them thereof, and assert the Rights of their Country against all Invasions and Encroachments. The base dishonest no less than dishonorable Arts of packing of Parliament, and corrupting the Publick Trustees of the Nation, and false Pretences for cheating the People of their Money, were then unknown. But what was freely given, was as freely remitted if the Occasion ceased. Nor was the Publick Revenue then wasted upon Parasites and Flatterers, insatiable Cormorants, or in excessive Salaries and Pensions to maintain Luxury and Impiety. Nor was the Trade then known of Purchasing the Votes of the Rabble with Ale and Roast-Beef, and then exposing them for Sale for Pensions, Offices, or other Gratities. But the Publick Good, the Honor and Honorable Service of the Prince, and the Honor, Service, and Prosperity of their Country, was the common Study and Ambition of all, and the Favor and Blessing of God was with them.

But her Successors being Persons of mean Spirit, forsaking their Dependence upon the Supreme Governor of the World, and flying to and taking up with no less deceitful than dishonest Tricks of Craft, instead of the more manly and more christian Prudence of the most Generous and most Prosperous of their Predecessors, attracted People of agreeable Dispositions from all parts of the Nation, and fill'd the Court first, and at last our Par-

Parliaments too, with this base and degenerate Brood, no less pernicious to the Kings themselves, than to the People and whole Kingdom : Whose *Loyalty* is only Flattery, and Tricks and Knavery their greatest *Policy*; having little Sense of Providence, and as little of true Humanity, will sell their Country to serve their Prince, and their Prince to serve themselves : A Generation more ambitious of empty Titles, than industrious in the direct ways of true Honor ; and more ready to devour the Supplies of their Country raised for Publick Service, than to serve their Prince either with their Persons or their Purses after the rate of ancient Times ; more concerned at a little Breach of their own Priviledge than at a gross Violation of the Rights of their Country ; and more apt to desert the Honor or Service of the Prince for fear of a Potent Person, or to serve a Turn, than to encounter the displeasure of either by any generous Act of Fidelity for the Service of their Country, or of their Prince himself.

This is that Wicked *Cazaritish* Generation, and these their corrupt Manners, which the King of necessity must first cast out or subdue, if ever he will be a Glorious Instrument in the Service of the God of *Israel*. His Declaration was Just and Honorable, his Undertakings Successful and Glorious, and his Proposals to the Convention reasonable and worthy of himself, and of his Undertakings : But it was, as I said, his Unhappiness (and ours too) that he met at first with such degenerate Persons before he well understood them : yet will it be for his greater Honor to extricate himself and the Nation out of the Snares and Intanglements of their pernicious Policies : To which the unhappy Examples of his immediate Predecessors, and his own Experience are great and special Obligations, besides the Obligations of his own Declaration and Undertakings ; and such as undoubtedly would make his neglect inexcusable, and such a Neglect his End unsuccessful and inglorious. Never was the

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Treasure of the Nation more, or so much exhausted in
 three Years time : Never had we greater Losses in our
 Trade, nor greater Losses of Men both at Land and Sea
 without Fighting ; never braver Fleets, nor ever any so
 baffled and unsuccessful : Never a braver Army than this
 last Campaign, and a more Courageous and Industrious
 Prince to Lead them, and yet never less effected. And
 what can all this be imputed to, but the Displeasure of
 Providence and Evil Counsels ? I am for the use of Means
 as well as others : but they must be proper Means, and
 all necessary Means must be well used. Armies are ne-
 cessary, and Fleets necessary, and Money necessary for
 all these : But if we think nothing else necessary, and
 will still over-look other Necessaries, and greater Nec-
 essaries, we connot rationally expect any better Success
 this Year than we had the last : And of that what other
 Consequence can we expect, but that the People of this
 Nation will grow weary of their Burden, and the Con-
 sequence of that expected, and possibly designed by some
 too far intrusted in Counsels or Affairs, that they should
 also grow weary of their King. So much Mischief al-
 ready sustained, and so great danger of more for the fu-
 ture, both certainly deserve to be well considered, and
 that good enquiry be made into the Causes and proper
 Remedies thereof. Experience and the Judgment of all
 Wise Men in all Ages of the World, abundantly prove
 that it is in vain to expect any great matters from Force
 of Men and Armies in the Field, if the Counsels at home
 be either unsound or betrayed : For his Majesties Cour-
 age and Conduct in the Field, it is, for ought I can find,
 so far above all Exceptions, that it seems to be the great-
 est Difficulty that his Enemies have to encounter ; so that
 the only things to be enquired of are whether there be not
 some Treachery, Unfaithfulness, or other great Fault in
 our Counsels and Managements at home ? And whether
 there may not be something which may have provoked
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the Displeasure and Disfavor of the Divine Providence?

And to begin at the Root of all, I may be bold to affirm that the King hath been burayed in the principal Point of all, that is, of his special Duty to God in his Place and Circumstances, by some of his Clergy; and to offer it to any of them all to answer with a good Conscience, and as in the Presence of God my *Questions Theological* in Relation to his Case, so as to clear that Point. If he hath not done for the Honor and Service of God what is Circumstances and the Duty of his Place under the Obligation of a Solemn Oath do require, though it be principally through the Fault of another, how can he expect the Favor and Blessing of the Providence of God to be with him for his own Honor? And though I believe there are but few who are actually guilty of this Unfaithfulness, yet must all, who at any time stand in the place of Watchmen, answer for his Blood, if he dye in his Sin, and they do not faithfully discharge their Duty by plain, and timely Warning in the Name of God, and with the Authority becoming the Ministers of the Divine Majesty. They hold the Place of Prophets, and the Duty of Prophets is incumbent upon them; and if they have not the Light and Discerning of Prophets, it is their own Fault, who encumber themselves so much with the Pomp and Vanities, and the unnecessary Superfluities of the World. If they know not in this their Day the things which belong to their Duty and their Peace, but suffer this Prince also to miscarry through Evil Counsels, which have been the Bane of so many of his Predecessors in this Nation, what can they expect but to be spewed out as unprofitable Servants? — *to be thrown out with Scorn, that Gospel Angels may our Church Adorn.*

But I hope better things from such as are now in Place.

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This unhappy Error in the Service of God hath, I doubt, exposed him to the Mischief of Unfaithfulness in such as he hath employed and intrusted in his Service, the Divine Providence permitting him to feel the Inconveniences of such Polices for Conviction of this Error. The Effects of our Management are visible to the World; the Persons employed are likewise known; and the Management it self is much complained of; too much perhaps when and as it should not, and as much too little, if there be just Cause, when and as it should. If the Management be ill, and the Persons employed unskillful and unable, the Fault is in the Choice principally, and the Remedy is to put them out and choose better; but if the Persons be able, and the Management ill, the Fault then is in the Persons employed and intrusted; and they are not only to be turned out, but farther punished as their Misdemeanors deserve, and the Damage requires: And if this be not done as it ought, the Fault rests upon them who ought to do it, and yet neglect their Duty. And because for Misdemeanors of all great Officers, the House of Commons are the general Inquisitors for the whole Kingdom, if there be any such ill Management, as is believed and talked on, it must be a great Fault of Unfaithfulness to God, to the King, and to the Kingdom, if they should not impartially inquire into it, and faithfully use the most proper Parliamentary Means to have it effectually and speedily redressed.

And this is the Duty, nor only of the whole House, but of every particular Member of it. They are Inquisitors for the whole Kingdom, as the Grand-Jury of each County are for their respective Counties. And as every Grand Jury-man, who knows any thing Presentable, and doth not Present it, doth violate his Oath and Duty to his Country, so doth every Member of Parliament, who knoweth any thing necessary to be considered there, and doth not honestly acquaint the House with it, and earnestly

eftly move to have it considered, no less violate his Trust and Duty of Fidelity both to his King and Country. Will it certain that the whole House would oppose him, an Honest and a Wise Man would notwithstanding be careful to discharge his Duty faithfully; nay, so much the more careful to do it to clear himself, that he might not be guilty, so much as by Silence, of any defect to Duty to his Prince or to his Country. And was this weighty Duty well considered as it deserves, we should have left Scuffling to get into the House, and more honest and honorable Behaviour there than we too often have had. But that which for many Ages hath been the Root of Remedy, for all our Maladies, hath in this been so corrupted, that it hath most of all needed Remedy, and yet hath most obstinately resisted it. But of all I have most admired at those whom I took to be the best, Men of Sobriety, Religion, Conscience, Fidelity to their Princes, and Affection to their Country, to see such frightened, nay even laughed and shamed out of all these. I wish such may receive this Admonition, and better consider their Duty in time, and do works meet for Repentance, that is, give Glory to God by so much greater Acts of Fidelity by how much they have at any time failed therein: For otherwise they will be called to a strict Account, wherein their little Prudentials will little avail them. And for this purpose to such as desire to discharge their Conscience well, I shall recommend the Account of the Good Steward in *Sir Mat. Hale*, as a good Pattern how to treat it.

But in the mean time there is another Account, that such Publick Trustees are to be immined of; and that is an Account of their Actions, if ill, or not faithful according to the Trust reposed in them, which the Commons of England, who intrust them, or any one of them may call any of them to. The meanest Commoner in England may maintain a Suit against the King him-

himself, if he have just Cause, and the ordinary Judges ought to give Judgment for him and do him Right. He may likewise complain in Parliament, if he have Cause proper for that, of any Grievance by the King or his Ministers, or of any Misdemeanor by any Member or Members of Parliament, or if it be the Speaker himself. And what one may do, more may do, the Marriners may do it, the Merchants may do it, the Judges, Serjeants and other Lawyers may do it, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of *London* and the other Cities may do it, the Counties may do it, and all may do it; there is no Limitation of the Numbers, but only of those who present the Petition, and that only by a late Act of Parliament. It is an Ancient, and a Fundamental Right of the Commons of *England*, and whoever should dare to speak against it, as some base Abhorrors did some Years since, though it were in Parliament, ought to be questioned for it, as a Betrayer of the Rights of his Country. For though Freedom of Debate be a necessary Privilege of Parliament, yet are there certain Bounds to it that may not be transgressed. Nor is the Power of the House of Commons, or of the whole Parliament, so boundless or unlimited as some may imagine.

This, as it is an Ancient and a Fudamental Right, so is it a Right as needful to be understood and put in Practice now as ever. This, if any thing that I can see, under God, must save both King and Kingdom: For the Lords, I can say nothing to them. But for the Representatives of the Commons, I find many of them so afraid of Great Men, if not otherwise corrupted, that they avoid the Motion of a Petition against their Speaker, or a Lord-Commissioner of the Great Seal, though for the Honor of the Royal Authority, and the Execution of the Laws, (the Care of which is their special Duty), nay for the Honor of their own House, and seek Evasions as from some dangerous Matter. So that I see not,

whence we can expect Effectual Remedy for the Mischiefs and Dangers so much complained of, but next under God from the Virtue of their Majesties and the Great Body of the People, (comprehending I hope the greatest part of the Lords) who are generally intire for the present Settlement. We have lately had a good Choice of *Bishops*, most of them as good as our Clergy doth afford; and before that, a good Choice of *Judges*, most of them as good as the Profession of the Law doth afford: And we have likewise I hope, as good a Choice of *Sheriffs* as could be expected. And what now remains, as things stand at present, to perfect all, and make both King and Kingdom happy, but

First, *On their Majesties part*, That they resolvedly endeavour, first to secure the *Favour and Blessing of Almighty God* by some generous Acts for his Service, in the Reformation of the great Corruption of the Manners of the People; and for that purpose strictly charge both some of the best of these *Bishops* to be Faithful to God, and to their Majesties, and to the Nation, in acquainting their Majesties fully and plainly with their Duty in that respect, and what Almighty God requires of them under their Circumstances; and likewise the *Judges*, to inform them of their Duty, and what they may and ought to do in that respect by the Laws of the Land, and then act accordingly: And Secondly, to confirm and secure the *Confidence of the People* in them, for a Just, Prudent, and Honourable Government: Which is to be done by generous and constant acts of *Justice*, such as may demonstrate the Accomplishment of the Ancient Prophecy in his Majesty's Person, *Ut Sponsus Sponsa sic Justitia associetur et*; that he should espouse Justice as inseperably and cordially as a Bridegroom his Bride; and that in respect of the Common Rights of the People, and publick Justice against Poyent Offenders, as the Private Rights of particular Persons; for

for which purpose the Judges are to be Advised with : And by like Acts of true *Prudence* ; as 1. By intrusting such only as are reputed Faithful, and without question intire and hearty for the present Settlement, and of undoubted Ability for their Employment in the *Navy*, for which purpose the Merchants and Marriners and Experienced Masters are fit to be advised with, rather than such who have hitherto been very unhappy in their Recommendations ; likewise in the *Militia* of the Kingdom, and in *Lieutenancy* in the City ; but especially in the Great Offices of *Trust*, in which the great Disappointments we have had without other Visible Cause than Unfaithfulness of Persons Employed, seem to require a Change, in point of Reputation as well as of common *Prudence* : I may add, and in the *Commission of the Peace* ; and that special care be taken that they be principally men of Sobriety, Virtue and Religion : And 2. By a frugal and provident Management of the *Publick Revenue* and great Supplies of the Nation, retrenching all unnecessary Expences, especially when so great are necessary, and reducing excessive Salaries to Moderation.

And next on the part of the *Commons*. That some Principal men of unquestionable Affection to their Majesties and the Government, and of Spotless Reputation, make an honest Enquiry into the Behaviour of their Representatives, and of others intrusted in the management of Publick Affairs, and then in an open Legal way represent what they find amiss, both to the King and Council, and to the Parliament or the Committee of Grievances, so as that all the Commons of *England* may take notice of it. Half the number of the House of Commons of Honest, Able and Courageous Gentlemen of good Interest in their Country, might do greater Service, though out of the Parliament, to their Majesties and the Kingdom by this means than is imagined.

And this is not only Lawful, but the Duty of every Loyal and Faithful Subject to promote it what he can : And provided they take good Advice and keep within the compass of the Law, will be not only Safe, but highly Honourable. Princes must see with other Men's Eyes, and hear with other Men's Ears : If they be not well informed, or misinformed, especially in matters of great Concern, it is their Unhappiness more than their Fault, unless they will not hear, and matter of Duty and Fidelity in any Subject, who knows it, to endeavour faithfully all he can that they be rightly informed : And whoever doth not this, doth not the part of a Loyal and Faithful Subject to his Prince, and of an Honest Man to his Country. The Honour of the King, is for the Honour of the Kingdom ; and the true Service of the King, is the Service of the Kingdom, and both, if really such, are for the Honour and Service of God : So that whoever willfully neglects this Duty, is guilty of Unfaithfulness not only to the King, but also to his Country, and to God himself, and must Answer for it not only to Men, but to God, who knows the Secrets of all Hearts, and is not to be imposed upon with pretended Prudentials and superficial Evasions. Nor can it be Offensive to any Honest Person, who means well, in either House of Parliament : But those who are really such in either, will be ready to encourage and promote it : And I doubt not but the Blessing of God will be with them. Besides, it is for the Honour, Safety and Strength of any Government, that mutual Confidence and good Agreement be maintained between all Parties, which cannot possibly be, unless Publick Grievances be duly redressed, and notorious Criminals duly Punished, or at least Convicted, and then Pardoned if there be good reason for it : And that such who are Suspected be fairly Tryed, and all reasonable Satisfaction given to such as Complain. To deny

ny this, is Imprudence and Chidishness, and was the fatal Error of Rehoboam and of our last Race of Kings. But we hope, we have Princes now of more Prudence and Virtue.

That any Man, who may be questioned for Treason or Felony, may likewise be questioned for matter of Misdemeanour; and that whoever may enquire or complain of the former, may likewise enquire and complain of the latter, is I think, without doubt. But what I mentioned of an *Enquiry into the Behaviour of the Representatives of the Commons of England*, may seem strange at first to such as have not well considered it; but if well considered, it will appear not only Lawful, but Necessary and Commendable. That the Corruption of the Manners of the People of *England* in general, hath been designedly and industriously promoted, is by observing and considering Men believed upon very good grounds: And it is likewise believed upon as good, that no part of the Nation hath been more attempted than the Publick Trustees, though the greatest and most detestable Wickedness that could be practised, and probably with a farther wicked Prospect of begetting an *Odium* in the People against Parliaments. This in the late Reigns was so Notorious, that it would be a high piece of Impudence to deny it now, especially since his Majesty hath taken notice of it in his Declaration. And whether any Reformation of so foul an Abuse, and of the Corruption then introduced among our Trustees, hath since been made, is certainly an Enquiry not only fit, but necessary; especially considering the notorious Practice still used in *Elections*, and manifest by the many Petitions upon that occasion; the late Opposition in this very Parliament to a Bill but for restraining false *Returns*, thrown out after a second Reading; the many Complaints of Abuses in the Management of the Publick Affairs every where out of the House, and the little

little notice taken thereof in the House ; the Prevalence of Parties, and such Practices in the House, that a Petition of no mean Publick concern, the Contents being known to most of the Members, was lately rejected, by a party of the House, taking a special Advantage of the Absence of many others, to the Abuse of the House, the denial of an undoubted Fundamental Right of the Commons of England, tending to the Subversion, thereof, and Disrespect to the Royal Authority : To say nothing of other Matters worthy of Consideration.

As this is greatly Necessary, so is it no less Lawful. The *Law of Nature* allows all Men to enquire into the Actions and Behaviour of their Trustees : And of all Trustees, such are most to be suspected and looked after, who being most Intrusted, do most oppose or decline any such Enquiry. Nor does any Law of the Land make it Unlawful. Nay, the Laws and Constitution of our Government allow it, and are not destitute of various means for Redress, as the Case may require, for any Unfaithfulness or Breach of Trust, whether by the whole House, or some part, or Member thereof. In *Matters Discretionary*, if the whole House, or Major part prevail to do any thing amiss without any Corruption, but sincerely, intending it for the best, they are to be Excused, and the Commons who did not Chuse better, must be content to bear the Inconveniences of their own ill advised Choice, and take care to mend it another time. But even in such Matters, if there be apparent Corruption in the leading Men of the House, they ought to be questioned for it. And in *Matters of undoubted Rights of the Commons, or Duty of the Members*, if they act contrary thereto, though no other Corruption be proved in particular, that is a manifest Breach of Trust, for which the Leading Men at least are to be questioned. In like manner any particular Member, if he do any thing amiss through Corruption, or oppose, or dis-

respectfully

respectfully slight, or contemn any undoubted Right of the Commons, or refuse or willfully neglect any certain Duty incumbent upon him as a Member, and more especially if either, with any disrespect to the King or Queens Majesty, he ought to be questioned for it. And as to this matter of *Unfaithfulness by Neglect*, whatever Member hath any knowledge of any matter of Moment proper to be complain'd of, or moved in the House, and either for fear of Reproach, or of the Displeasure of any great Man, or that it will be rejected, or for any private respect to himself, or his Friends, doth not what in him lieth, that it may be complain'd of or moved in the most proper and likely manner to take effect, is by his Concealment or Silence, guilty of breach of Trust, and therein a Betrayer of his Country: Whereas by the faithful discharge of his Duty he might either succeed at first, or however give occasion to detect divers evil Members, and to have them questioned, and at last perform his Trust with greater Advantage. Nor is this so small a matter as most imagine. For all the Unhappinels of the Nation is plainly reducible to this, and must lye upon the Account of the Men professing Sobriety, Religion and Concern for their Country, who by this Unfaithfulness betray all. They first fail in their Fidelity to God through Fear of Men, and then by a just Judgment are given up to betray their King, Country, and their own Concerns by a base Fear, whatever pretences they make to cover it, where in truth no Fear is, that is, no just cause of Fear.

Now for Redress in such Cases, if the Question be concerning the *Misdemeanour of one or two, or a small Party* of the Members, there is no question but this may be redressed by the Major part in the House, who, though all the rest were culpable, yet may, if they please, only make Examples of the Principal; and it may be done upon Motion of any Member in the House, or upon Petition

tion of any Commoner out of the House, if there be Evidence to prove the Complaint ; and especially if the Misdemeanor be committed out of the House.

But the greatest Difficulty is in case of *Corruption*, and notorious *Unfaithfulness and Breach of Trust* by the greatest or prevailing part of the House ; which no Man, who hath observed the Occurrences of our Time, can think impossible. And as to this we have *Precedents* of whole Parliaments and their *Acts* reversed by succeeding Parliaments : But suppose we have neither *Act* nor *Precedent* in an extraordinary case, are we therefore without Remedy ? Have Lawyers no other Topicks to prove Law from ? No Man, who hath read and considered the *Doctor and Student*, or *Littleton*, can think so. And in such a Case as this, if the Laws and Constitution of our Government be well considered, why may not any great Body of the Commons, as the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, or a considerable number of Gentlemen of clear Reputation and good Interest, petition the King, and setting out first the Right, then the Violation and Breach of Trust, and by whom, expressing and charging the principal Leaders, pray that that Parliament may be dissolved, and another summoned to enquire concerning that Matter ? I see not what can be laid against this with any colour, but for what I see substantial Matter to answer it. Let us look well into our Laws and Constitution, and we shall not find them so Defective as some through Ignorance have thought them, and therefore to supply Imaginary Defects, have sometimes introduced very defective Remedies, and neglected better.

As for the other *Unfaithfulness* and breach of Trust, which is committed, not by Acting or Speaking, but by Neglect and Silence : If any Member hath any *special Knowledge* of any matter of Moment proper and necessary to be complained of in the House, and doth not his

His Duty therein, that is such a *Concealment* as makes him *particular criminal*, and he may be questioned for it, as for any other Misdemeanor by fact; But if he hath no other knowledge but what is common to the rest or most of the Members, and doth not his Duty, whether the rest do or not, he cannot be questioned for it in the Houle, in particular: yet they who chuse him ought to take notice of it, and mend their Choice another time; for otherwise they wrong not only themselves, but the King and Kingdom, in sending an unfaithful or unfit Man, who is not able or not willing to do his part in so weighty a Business of Publick Concern; and besides, he is guilty of Unfaithfulness before God, to whom he must account for his Actions toward Men.

And of this Unfaithfulness I doubt there are but few, who can acquit themselves before God, or Men either, while so many things are so much complain'd of elsewhere, and even by Members themselves, and yet so little thereof examined or complain'd of in the Houle. I will mention but two Instances of it in particular; in which whoever can clear himself to have honestly discharged his Duty, may with the more Confidence and better Conscience question me for what I write, if he let Gaul, and I shall as confidently submit to his Sentence.

The first I have mentioned before, is a great *Misdemeanor* of two Magistrates, Great Officers, and Members of the Houle, contrary to the Duty of Magistrates, to a Speciall Army of the Houle, to a known express Command of her Majestie, and that in discharge of her Duty by the Laws both of God and of the Land; and this done not in the Absence of his Majestie beyond See, but as it were in his Presence, and the Parliament sitting: and so notorious, that it was done in the presence of many other considerable Persons, and no less than Seven Reverend Prelates, who came on purpose to hear the Confession, or great Consequence, and concerning the most necessary Reformation of the abominable

minable Corruption of the Manners of the People. And it being so, who could acquit himself of Unfaithfulness, by his Silence and Neglect of such a Cause as this, if no Man out of the House had taken notice of it ? But that a Punition for such a Cause as this, after Copies thereof delivered to many of the Members, and the Contents thereof known to most, being offered to the House, and put to the Vote, to be received or not, it should be carried in the Negative, how can this be answered to God, to their Majesties, and to the Commonm of England ? and what can such Members, as believe a Divine Providence, and have discharge their Duty in such a Case, except but some severe Troubles in their Families and the Nation, if these effectual Course, proportionable to the Offence, be not taken in time to prevent it ?

The other is this, That Management alone, though uncertain whether through Corruption, Inidelity or Neglect, and regardless Suspicion, being power and sufficient cause of Complaint against Persons employed in the Office of Treasurie, (wherein the Publick Service is principally to be regarded, nor the Honour or private Advantage of any particular Person) our Affairs have been so unskillfully managed for three Years together ; and yet there have been no more Complaints in the House, or care taken to have Matters of so great Concern for the Honour of the Government, and Benefit, or even Safety of the Nation enquired into. In nothing to be regarded but Money ? Is it not of much greater Concernness, and even for the Sake of our Master at least, to have Persons employed in other Places besides the Treasurie, who are unquestionably Faithful, Able and Native ? And what can the Neglect be intended but to secure the Economic Power of this, whatever may be the consequence of it, never regarding the advantage of the Law, and a good Cause to support and encourage the faithful Discharge of Duty.

Indeed,

Indeed, so epidemical is this Disease now become among our Country, that the slightest Performance of Duty, of Fidelity to God, to our King and Country, seems to many no other than Heresy, Treason, and Blasphemy; so true to me that *Motto Peccatum Pignus*, seems never to have been more plainly verified than now in this Nation; and when I consider the *Crusade* of it, respecting upon the gross and impudent Impurity, Prophaneness, and Debauchery of the one part, and the want of Christian Courage and true Magnanimity on the rest to check it, either in Common Conventions, or by Authority in Parliament, I cannot but chuse it a *Saint's Work* of God upon the whole Nation. That they should be deprived of Courage in things necessary for themselves, who have shewed so little for the Honor and Service of God, notwithstanding the Advantage of the Laws to back them in the one Cause as well as in the other. Nor do I believe that either Prince or People can prosper until their Radical Faults be amended; but rather these will Abate even in, and to the Parliament in full, will continually produce some severe Judgments upon both, if continued at and suffered to pass without due Correction.

If Persons Uninhibit'd and of small Employment with Persons of undoubted Integrity, low Rank, and thin Lives, give notable Advantages to the one over the other all with the more Security under the eye of the other. And whether this be not so in the instance of great Trust and Moment, Heaven and Earth witness, to whom it most properly belongs, having something to do with the Pope elsewhere. I shall therefore only take notice of some Persons of undoubted Fidelity and Ability; who from their purpose help me. Some Noblemen, then Gentlemen, and others who were not equally qualified in their Civil Characters. But that I also have to the Confirmation of others.

Captain *Davies*, is a Person well known to be thus qualified;

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